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SPEECH

OF

HON. T. L. ANDERSON, OF MISSOURI,

ON

THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF THE BLACK REPUBLICAN PARTY,

AND

THE DUTY OF WHIGS AND AMERICANS IN THE APPROACHING
STATE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 16, 1860.

Mr. ANDERSON, of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, the present political aspect of this country, and the condition of parties, evidently demand that a Representative occupying the independent position which I have the honor to do upon this floor—responsible to no party; bound by no political organization; controlled by none of the political elements of the country; responsible alone to an intelligent and independent constituency, who have confided to my guardianship, in part, their great national interest; trusting alone to the honest and patriotic exercise of the discretionary powers with which they invested me—should, at least, indicate to them, and perhaps, to the country, the views which he entertains, and the principles by which his legislative action will be guided, in reference to the great questions that now agitate the public mind.

I regret to say, sir, that in no period in the history of this vast Confederacy has the great "patriotic heart" been more violently agitated and more intensely concerned, in reference to the future destiny of this Republic, than it is to-day. The fearful elements of discord that now disturb its peace and tranquility, are urged on with a degree of bitterness, malignity and recklessness, superinducing an alienation of feeling, interest and sentiment, between the two sections of the Union, that must ere long, unless arrested, result in a train of the most terrible and disastrous consequences that has ever before afflicted this great nation. Periods of excitement and agitation have often occurred since the foundation of this Government. A glowing and patriotic devotion to the Union, however, soon caused them to pass away. The wounds that had been inflicted, were rapidly healed, and the great body-politic again and again moved on with its accustomed vigor, quietude and harmony. But, sir, I greatly fear that the elements of malevolence and sectional strife, now abroad in this land, are of a more permanent and terrific character. They have been directed and controlled by political demagogues and fanatics, of a consummate tact and ability. Mercenary men, who have slowly and gradually infused into the public mind their pernicious and destructive principles, and who are now on the eve of attacking, through the machinery of the General Government, with a bold and defiant hand, the great citadel of our rights, the Constitution of the United States—the great written compact by which alone the rights and equality of the sovereign States of this Confederacy can be preserved.

Sir, at that eventful period when the Constitution was adopted by the fathers of the Republic, and accepted by the sovereign States of the Union, slavery—negro slavery—was an existing institution in twelve of the thirteen States of the Confederacy. A large majority of the members that composed the convention and originated and formed that federative compact, were the absolute owners of slaves. It was a domestic institution that had been introduced and established by the Puritan fathers, and perpetuated and fostered by their descendants. It was regarded, at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as one of the institutions of the country, to be preserved and protected by that sacred instrument. From that day to this, it has received the sanction, and protection of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the Federal Government. It was an institution in regard to which, all of the States, possessed the power, in the exercise of their individual sovereignty, to dispose of whenever the people, in their wisdom, might deem it proper and expedient so to do. We know that the climate and productions of the North rendered slave labor unprofitable, and that it was the instinctive principle of gain, the philanthropy of dollars and cents, by which they were impelled to rid themselves of what they now, with “pretentious piety,” call the sin of slavery, “the sum of all villainies.” They effected it under the disguise of what they falsely termed gradual emancipation; the true definition of which was the grant of sufficient time to enable most of them to sell their slaves to the planters of the southern States. That being accomplished, many of them now, in a spirit of pharisaical zeal and wild fanaticism, insist that slavery shall be abolished in all the States of the Union; that it is an “inhuman and infamous institution,” “a relic of barbarism, alike offensive to civilization and Christianity.”

These men of the North, whose fathers were originally responsible for the introduction of slavery; who clamored for and carried on the African slave trade up to 1808, the last day of its constitutional limitation; who invested the proceeds of human beings sold into perpetual bondage, in land, houses and stocks; whose wealth, power and influence have been principally augmented by slave labor, and who would literally starve without the commercial intercourse of the slave States, are now demanding, that we shall surrender our slave property, to satisfy their ideas of humanity and freedom. Is not such demand presumptuously unreasonable, and insolently unjust? They declare, however, that it is not their purpose to interfere with the relation of master and slave in the States. Now, I propose to test their sincerity by their conduct and acts.

The great compact entered into between the sovereign States of the Confederacy, and which each was bound faithfully to observe, declares that:

“No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

Now, I affirm that it is the duty of the northern States, claiming the protection of the General Government, and participating in all the blessings that flow from it, to act up to all the requirements of the Constitution, and yield a hearty assent and enforcement to all its obligations. This proposition, I presume, will not be denied by any honest, patriotic, Union-loving citizen of the non-slaveholding States. And yet, strange to tell, this provision of the Constitution, so essentially and indispensably necessary to the protection of southern property, and without which the Constitution never would have been ratified, has been either publicly and defiantly violated or utterly disregarded in the northern States.

In 1850, Congress, in the exercise of this power, and with a view to the protection of slave property, enacted what is termed the “fugitive slave act.” In less than ten years one half of the non-slaveholding States have, by legislation, attempted—and that successfully—to prevent the execution of this law, and deny to us the

means provided by the Constitution for the recapture of our fugitive slaves. Is not this a palpable violation of good faith on their part? Is it not a great enormity, of which we of the South have the right to complain—bitterly complain; and which should, very naturally and justly, lessen our respect for the people of the North, and create in our bosoms feelings of indignation and enmity towards them? Suppose the horses and cattle of the people of Illinois, a State adjoining my district, should escape from their owners to Missouri, and we should refuse to surrender them, and absolutely seek, by legislation, to prevent them from the recovery of their property, would they not have a right to complain? Would they not be justified, in the estimation of all civilized and Christian people on earth, in denouncing us as thieves and robbers? Would it be possible for them to entertain for us sentiments of common respect, or feelings of ordinary friendship? Would they not regard us unfit for the association of honorable men? Would they not cease all intercourse with us, socially and commercially? Can the people of the North, then, expect us to treat them differently, while they continue to deprive us of our slave property, by legislation and underground railroads? The Black Republican party, however, undertake to justify such conduct, by the assertion that negroes, being human beings, are not property, and therefore entitled to their freedom.

This pretended justification, false in theory and cruel in practice, cannot avail them, without deliberately, willfully, and knowingly trampling the Constitution under their feet. It is the only protection we have afforded to us in the Union, for the preservation of our property, and if they refuse to yield to us this constitutional guaranty, can they, ought they, to expect us to remain in the Union and submit to it? Mr. Webster, in his speech at Capou Springs, Virginia, in 1851, said:

“I do not hesitate to say and repeat that if the northern States refuse willfully and deliberately to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain broken on one side is broken on all sides.”

Were they situated as we are—entertaining the same views in relation to negro slavery that we of the South do—would *they* submit to it? Is it not taxing our patriotism to an extent that we cannot endure and retain our self-respect? Do they not suppose that it is humiliating to the South to behold them in the full enjoyment, of the protection and benefits of the Constitution and Union, and they denied them? Do they think it reasonable to conclude that American citizens, who have been taught from their infancy to know and appreciate their rights, and to guard them with a vigilant and determined purpose, to allow no violation of them, will long submit to such wrong and oppression? If they do, I can only say that in my judgment they are most certainly and fatally deceived.

I have the honor of representing, in part, a State bounded on the north, east, and west by free States; my district extends one hundred and twenty miles along the line of Illinois; my constituents lose every year not less than thirty or forty thousand dollars' worth of slave property. They are persuaded and aided, in most instances, by the abolition Republicans of Illinois. It is very seldom that we ever recapture one after he crosses the Mississippi river, the dividing line between Missouri and Illinois. Occasionally they are arrested by some honest, constitution-loving Democrat, and returned to their masters; but nineteen-twentieths are never recovered. If they reach the abolition city of Chicago, they are forever lost; for it is as much as a man's life is worth to attempt to reclaim his property after it gets into the hands of the abolition thieves that infest that city.

Now, Mr. Chairman, permit me to remark—for I do not intend to argue the question; we of the South think that the time for argument is past—that we honestly and conscientiously believe that the very best condition in which the

African can be placed, is that of slavery. We believe that a master is necessary to the support, comfort, and happiness of the slave—necessary to the promotion of his highest interests as a moral, social, and religious being. We are satisfied that the history of the African race proves most incontestably that they are unfit, intellectually and morally, for self-government—for the enjoyment of civil liberty. Our knowledge and observation as to the effect produced by freedom on those manumitted in our midst (and we have a much larger number of free negroes in the slave States than you have in the free States) establish, incontrovertibly, that the greatest misfortune that can befall the negro, in a great majority of cases, is to have bestowed upon him his liberty.

And at this point in my remarks, I desire to read the following extracts from a letter of Commodore Stockton, addressed to Daniel Webster in 1850 :

"1. Of all the races of men with which history and travel have acquainted us, there is none so sunk beyond all hope of self-restoration as the African on his wide continent. In ignorance so utter, that he is elevated little above the brute; in superstition so gross, that it drags him even lower than the brute without a thought of liberty, he is the sport of tyranny in its lowest, meanest, and most cruel forms; he has nothing he can call his own; he has no idea of God, of justice, of moral obligation, of the rights of persons or property. In a word, 'Africa has long forgotten God, and God has abandoned Africa—but not, I trust forever.' From such a land and such a condition—sold, bartered away by his countrymen—the slave was brought to these shores while we were colonists and subject to British law. Here he is in a civilized and Christian country; he has more opportunities of enlightenment than he would have had in Africa; he is, as a general rule, treated with kindness; he is protected from want in sickness and old age; and is, on the whole, better off, safer, happier, than he would have been in his native country.

"2. But, in the second place, with the moral character of the act bringing the slave to this country, we have nothing to do. We find him here; the thing is done. So far as the slave-trade is concerned, we have acted on that, and abolished it. Slavery was introduced in other times and under other auspices. It existed when the Government was established; an institution which could not be got rid of—which had, of necessity, to be tolerated. Slaves had been made property in the colonies by British law. The Government found it an existing institution, and the Constitution left it so—of necessity imperative and uncontrollable—to be acted on exclusively by the States; subject to the molding and changing and controlling opinions and consciences of those concerned.

"3. In the third place, every considerate man sees that, in the present condition of things, slavery cannot be immediately and absolutely abolished. We must reason about things as they are—not as we might wish them to be. The slave is property; he became so by a law of our common ancestors; he was left in that condition by the law of our common fathers, who founded the Republic. The burden of this purchase should be borne, in all justice, equally by our citizens, and we are not ready to pay the price. But if we were ready, he is not in a condition to take care of himself. He has not the culture, the training, the experience, necessary to self-dependence. And where is he to go? No reflecting man is prepared to say he is willing to have three million slaves turned loose in the States, to fill the prisons and poor-houses and alms-houses of the country, or to live by plunder on the community. What, too, is to be his lot for the future in such a case? Is he to live in our midst as a marked and degraded being, through all time, or are we prepared to place him on an equality with us, civilly and socially? Are we ready for amalgamation?"

"If the toleration of slavery—if the permission for its existence in any part of the Union was a great national *crime*—when, and by whom, was that crime committed? At the formation of the Government, at the adoption of the Constitution, and by the Washingtons, the Roger Shermans, the Hamiltons, the Madisons, the Franklins, the Pinkneys, of the land—by such men as Livingston and Paterson, Brearly and Dayton of my own native State, approved and sanctioned with unparalleled unanimity by the North and South. Under its auspices, I need not say with what giant strides the Republic has advanced to greatness and prosperity, nor that Heaven has smiled propitiously upon our common heritage."

Sir, I have no hesitation in asserting that the condition of the negroes in the South is far better than thousands and tens of thousands of those persons in the free States, who are dependant upon the avaricious monopolists and nabobs of the North for the small pittance they receive for their labor; and who, with their families, are doomed to eat the bread of sorrow and poverty. Let the Republican party, whose sympathies are so deeply excited in behalf of the negroes

of the South, go and look upon the paupered thousands and tens of thousands of their white brethren, throughout the northern States of the Confederacy, and bestow upon them their philanthropy and charity, instead of teaching their misguided people, by their doctrines and professed principles, to expend their money for pikes and Sharp's rifles, with which to murder their brethren of the South. Let them go and expend their money and their sympathies upon the suffering thousands whose heart-rending wail is heard every day in the midst of their large cities. Let them go and minister to the wants of suffering humanity at home, and let us and our domestics alone, who are never in want for food, clothing, or shelter.

The unfaltering determination evinced by the North to deprive us of our slave property, at the peril of our peace, our lives, our families, our homes, and the Union, manifested in so many unmistakable ways, has produced, in the bosom of a majority of the southern people, a feeling of dislike, yea, I may almost say, hatred, towards the people of the North. It is useless to disguise the fact. I announce it with emotions of regret. The southern people regard those men who are engaged in carrying on this "irrepressible conflict" against them as their enemies. By the doctrines they inculcate they induce others to rob us of our property—they render it less secure every day; and let me assure you, in all honesty and sincerity, that unless this Black Republican party is disbanded, and its programme of principles and policy changed, self-preservation will imperiously demand a dissolution of our social, commercial, and Federal relations with the North, or a surrender of our property, and submission to the most humiliating inferiority. One or the other of these alternatives is inevitable; which of the two we will accept, no man of honor or spirit can doubt.

Sir, the people of the South everywhere are being fully aroused to the impending dangers that surround them. The innocent blood of Virginia's sons is crying to them from the ground, and they know not but the day and the hour are near by when other portions of their fair heritage will be drenched in blood, and they shall hear, the agonizing cries, and bitter lamentations, of their own wives and children. Sir, I am no alarmist; I utter but the words of soberness and truth, when I aver that the great body of the southern people are firmly and resolutely resolved to submit to no additional infringements of their constitutional rights. They have yielded to the loss of one after another, until patriotic forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

Now, sir, I desire simply to state (not argue) what the South demands, and is entitled to, if she is to be permitted to occupy a position of equality with the rest of the Union:

1. That the fugitive slave act shall remain upon the statute-book, and be faithfully executed.
2. That the territories of the United States—being common property, held in trust by the General Government for the benefit and joint occupancy of the people of all the States—shall be free for the people of the South to take their slave property; and, if necessary, the protection of the General Government shall be extended to it.
3. That if other slave States shall be formed out of the common territory, with a constitution republican in form, they shall be admitted into the Union upon an equality with the thirteen original States.
4. That slavery shall not be interfered with in the District of Columbia, or other territory of the United States, by the General Government.
5. That there shall be no restriction upon the inter-State slave trade.

These the southern States regard as great constitutional rights, necessary to the preservation of the South and her slave property; and whenever denied, she will, in my opinion, absolve herself, either by revolution or otherwise, from all allegiance to the Union, and take the consequences, whether for weal or woe.

Sir, let me now call the attention of the country to some of the rights that have been wrested from the slaveholding States, the denial of which would have prevented forever the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Did our patriotic fathers ever suppose that the time would come, in the history of this Republic, when the people of one portion of the Confederacy would not be permitted to travel, either by water or land, through the other portion, with a female slave, to wait on their families, or nurse their children? If I desire to bring with me my wife and infant child to this District—the capital of the nation—that I may enjoy their society while I am here transacting the business of the country, I am compelled to go to Illinois or elsewhere, and hire a white servant, though I may have a dozen female slaves at home unemployed. The Constitution, I admit, authorizes me to bring my property here. But does not every man know, even the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. CORWIN,) that it is inoperative for the protection of my slave property in passing through the free States, and especially Ohio? And who have brought about this diseased public sentiment, but the very party with whom that gentleman is now acting? Societies are also formed in their midst, whose avowed purpose it is to send emissaries among us, to seduce and entice our slaves away; material aid, conveyances, and protection, furnished to enable them to escape beyond our reach; and the very thieves, their aiders and abettors, who are engaged in it, sustained and honored at the North.

We are boldly told upon this floor, in the tone of self-satisfaction, that if they see our property escaping from us they will not lift a hand to save it. This is evidently the feeling and sentiment of a majority of the Black Republican party of this House, with whom the conservative gentleman from Ohio (Mr. CORWIN) is acting, and seeking, by the influence of his great name and great talents, to elevate to the administration of this Government. And this same party publish and send among us incendiary books and papers calculated to incite our slaves to arson, murder, and insurrection. You associate in your platform polygamy with slavery, and denounce us as criminals and barbarians; and yet you call us your brethren; expect us to remain upon terms of social intercourse with you; to patronize your merchants and workshops; to build up your cities, and enrich your people. If the southern people continue longer to do it, unless you change your conduct towards them, I can only say, that they ignominiously “kiss the hand that smites them;” and deserve, and should receive, the universal contempt and execration of mankind.

But, sir, this is not all. Men from the North, educated in the school of SEWARD, Garrison, Phillips, and Beecher, and their allies, have invaded the territory of a sovereign State, murdered her citizens, and sought to place weapons in the hands of her slaves, with which to massacre her men, women, and children, and spread death and desolation throughout her borders. This infamous and atrocious act has been indorsed by a portion of the people in all the non-slaveholding States. The prominent actor in this deed of treason, murder, and insurrection, has been eulogized as a hero and proclaimed a martyr. On the day when he was required, by the violated laws and offended majesty of a sovereign State, to satisfy the just penalty of his enormous crimes, the “northern heart” manifested its grief, and poured out its sympathy for the thief and the murderer, by the tolling of bells, the firing of cannon, religious ceremonies, and public meetings, at which the entire South were denounced, in a spirit of unsurpassed bitterness and malignity.

Now, sir, while I do not believe that the majority of the people of the North indorse or approve of the act of John Brown, yet it is evident that the infamous and atrocious sentiments enunciated by his sympathizers are the natural and legitimate fruits of the general and incessant war made upon the South by the Republican party and its adjuncts—Garrison, Phillips, Beecher, and their fanatical clan.

The mission of the Black Republican party is to render slavery odious and detestable in the eyes of the northern people. They denounce the slaveholder in the most bitter and vindictive terms. They apply to him the most violent and opprobrious epithets, by speech and resolution, in the pulpit and the press. And thus they sink the character of the southern people in the estimation of the North, and produce in their bosoms feelings of rancor and hate; and, in consequence of this course of conduct, similar feelings are excited in the breast of the southern people against them; that feeling is unquestionably increasing in the South to the most fearful extent.

I now predict, that unless a revolution shall take place in the public sentiment of the North, (of which I have no hope,) within the next twelve months, no man, trading from that section of the Union, will be permitted to travel through the southern States, unless he brings with him evidences of conservative feelings and sentiments towards the people of the South and its domestic institutions. Self-protection will impose upon the South the necessity of such action.

Senator WADE, of Ohio, the representative of the Black Republican party of that State, said; in 1856 :

"There is really no Union now between the North and the South; and he believed that no two nations upon the earth entertain feelings of more bitter rancor towards each other than these two nations of the Republic"

Sir, I concur with that Senator, and aver that, in my opinion, this hostility between the North and the South—I mean that portion of the North that belongs to the SEWARD and Garrison school of politics—is equally as strong as that which existed between the people of the colonies and England during our revolutionary struggle. We think that your actual and purposed violation of our legal and constitutional rights, considering the relation that we sustain to you, is more oppressive and insufferable than those committed by the mother country against the colonies; and if you shall succeed in obtaining the control of this Government, and seek to enforce your avowed slave policy—as I understand it, and as I shall presently present it—I cannot see how the South, if true to her rights, her honor, and her self-respect, can submit. She cannot, she will not, be forced to remain in the Union, except upon terms of equality. The southern people are warmly devoted to the Union and the Constitution, with its guarantees enforced. They remember with holy affection the mighty sacrifices that were made, the priceless blood that was shed, to achieve it. They dwell with delight upon the glorious associations and hallowed memories that cluster around it. They appreciate, in all its length and breadth, the value of the Union. But when it fails to afford to them, their families, and their property, the security and protection which it was designed to do; when its plain provisions are perverted, and made the instruments of their oppression, they will not, they ought not, to hesitate for a single moment to sever every tie that binds them to the Union.

I am not, sir, to be regarded as a disunionist. I pray God that the day may never come when this Union shall be dissolved. I fervently hope that the "sober second thought" of the people of the non-slaveholding States will enable them to see the breakers ahead that must inevitably dash the ship of State to atoms, and that they will speedily reverse their action, observe the guarantees of the Constitution, and again seek to restore the fraternal feeling that once existed between the northern and southern sections of the Confederacy.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to state distinctly to the House and the country, what we of the South understand the legislative programme of the Black Republican party to be, should they obtain the control of the Government; it is—

1. To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.
2. To exclude slavery from all the Territories of the United States, and thereby restrict it to its present limits.

3. To prohibit the slave-trade between the States.

4. To repeal the fugitive slave act, or so modify its provisions as to render it inoperative.

5. To remodel the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary, for the accomplishment of these purposes.

That these unconstitutional and oppressive measures will be adopted, should they obtain the control of all the departments of the Government, I conclude is evident, not only from the declaration of their leaders, but from the principles which they avow. The declared and fundamental axioms of their creed are : "That all men, without distinction of color, are entitled to the enjoyment of liberty. That the institution of slavery is a sin; that slavery is a relic of barbarism; that it is a crime against God and man; that it is founded in injustice and cruelty; that it shall and must be abolished." Entertaining these false and fanatical heresies, appealing as they do to the worst passions and prejudices of the northern people, driving them onward, step by step, in their mad career, I must confess that I see but little hope for the perpetuation of this Union. They ought to know, and do know, that the southern people never can, and never will, submit to the enforcement of their creed. They ought to know, and do know, that the principles and policy for which they are contending, will, if reduced to practice, disrupt every tie that exists between the two sections of the Confederacy, and rend assunder every ligament that binds this Union together.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to call the attention of the country to the principles, declarations, and purposes of the leaders of the Black Republican party, as expressed by themselves, in order that I may not be charged with having misrepresented them :

Senator WILSON, Republican, of Massachusetts, said :

"Let us remember that more than three million bondmen, groaning under nameless woes, demand that we shall cease to reprove each other, and that we labor for their deliverance.

"I tell you here to-night, that the agitation of this question of human slavery will continue while the foot of a slave presses the soil of the American Republic.

"We shall change the Supreme Court of the United States, and place men in that court who believe with its pure and immaculate Chief Justice, John Jay, that our prayers will be impious to Heaven, while we sustain and support human slavery."

Senator SUMNER, Republican, of Massachusetts, said :

"The good citizen, as he reads the requirements of this act, (the fugitive slave,) is filled with horror." * * * "Here the path of duty is clear. I am bound to disobey this act. * * * "Sir, I will not dishonor this home of the Pilgrims and of the Revolution by admitting—nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here."—*Charles Sumner, October, 1850, in Boston, and August 26, 1852, in the United States Senate.*

Senator SUMNER, November, 1855 :

"Not that I love the Union less, but freedom more, do I now, in pleading this great cause, insist that freedom, at all hazards, shall be preserved."

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Republican, in the Senate of the United States, said :

"The Constitution regulates our stewardship. The Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, to liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same purposes."

Josiah Quincy, a Republican, of Boston :

"The obligation incumbent on the free States to deliver up fugitive slaves is that burden, and it must be obliterated from the Constitution at every hazard."

Horace Mann, a Republican, of Massachusetts, said :

"I have only to add, under a full sense of my responsibility to my country and my God, I deliberately say, better disunion, better a civil or servile war, better anything that God in his providence shall send, than an extension of the bounds of slavery."

Mr. BURLINGAME, a Republican Congressman, said :

"The times demand, and we must have, an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God."

BURLINGAME, again :

"When we shall have elected a President, as we will, who will not be the President of a party, nor of a section, but the tribune of a people; and after we have exterminated a few more miserable doughfaces from the North, then, if the slave Senate will not give way, we will grind it between the upper and nether millstones of our power."

Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, a leading Republican of the West, said :

"I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, North as well as South."

General James Watson Webb, a Republican leader, said, in the Philadelphia convention :

"If we (meaning the Abolitionists) fail there, (at the ballot box,) what then? We will drive it (slavery) back, sword in hand, and, so help me God! believing that to be right, I am with them."

Horace Greeley, a Republican :

"I have no doubt but the free and slave States ought to be separated. The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South."

General James Watson Webb, a Republican editor :

"On the action of this (the Republican) convention, depends the fate of the country; if the Republicans fail at the ballot box, we will be forced to drive back the slaveocracy with fire and sword."

The New York Tribune, while the Nebraska bill was before Congress :

"Better that confusion should ensue; better that discord should reign in the national councils; better that Congress should break up in wild disorder; nay, better that the Capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury all its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins, than that this perfidy and wrong should be finally accomplished."

Judge Spalding, of Ohio, in the Republican convention :

"In the case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes."

These declarations of the leaders and organs of that party conclusively prove that it is their determined purpose never to cease their assaults upon the institution of slavery until it is abolished (peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must) or the Union dissolved.

Sir, we are told by Republicans in this House, and the aiders, abettors, and sympathizers of their party, in my own district and State, that the leaders of the Democratic party and such politicians as myself, outside of that organization, are responsible for the slavery agitation with all its fearful consequences.

I propose, for a moment, to examine into this responsibility, and ascertain, if I can, where it rests. I remark, sir, that the first serious agitation of the rights of slaveholders commenced in 1820, when my own State, with a constitution, republican in form, applied for admission into the Union. She was resisted by the Senators and Representatives of the free States on account of her slavery toleration. A violent and fearful struggle ensued which was finally settled by the adoption of the unjust and unconstitutional Missouri restriction, prohibiting slavery north of 36° 30'. Mr. Jefferson, knowing that the southern people were joint owners with the northern people in all the territories of the Union, and entitled to an equal participation in the enjoyment thereof, never uttered a truer prediction than when he said, in reference to the Missouri restriction, that—

"A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper."

And in the same connection, he said :

"I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves, by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons; and my only consolation is, that I live not to weep over it. If they would but dispassionately weigh the blessings they will throw away against an abstract principle, more likely to be effected by union than by secession, they would pause before they would perpetrate this act of suicide on themselves, and treason against the hopes of the world."

To quiet this agitation, and save the Union from anarchy and civil war, the South patriotically surrendered her just rights, and yielded up to the people of the North the occupation of the entire territory north of 36° 30'. The people of the North, however, were not satisfied with this humiliating concession on the part of the people of the slaveholding States. Abolition societies were soon formed; the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was demanded throughout the North; abolition petitions by the thousand were poured in upon Congress; and the slavery agitation continued increasing, year after year, up to 1850, when the dangerous doctrines and unjust exactions of the North came near culminating in the dissolution of the Union; when another compromise was again effected, by another sacrifice on the part of the South, by the admission of California as a free State, before she had even been organized into a Territory.

This compromise, solemnly agreed upon by the statesmen of the North and the South, as a final adjustment of the slavery question, produced but little abatement in the terrific storm that had been gathering in the North for years, through the instrumentality of WILLIAM H. SEWARD, WILSON, SUMNER, and their abolition confederates. I should remark, however, as I pass along, that in 1848, at Cleveland, Mr. SEWARD made the following proclamation to the people of the non-slaveholding States :

"Slavery can be limited to its present bounds; it can be ameliorated. It can be and it *must* be ABOLISHED, and you and I can and *must* do it. The task is as simple and easy as its consummation will be beneficent and its reward glorious. It requires to follow only this simple rule of action: to do everywhere and on every occasion what we can, and not to neglect or refuse to do what we can, at any time, because, at that precise time, and on that particular occasion, we cannot do more. Circumstances determine possibilities." * * * * *

"Correct your own error, that slavery has constitutional guarantees which may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished." * * * "You will soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon slavery."

Such, sir, was the ominous language of the embodiment of Black Republicanism—"slavery must be abolished," not limited, "and you and I can and will do it. You will soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon it." The avowed object of Mr. SEWARD then was, and still is, a continued aggressive war upon the constitutional guarantees of slavery, which he and his satellites, backed by the diseased public sentiment of the northern people, are urging on, with the most reckless pertinacity and resolute determination, to its final result—the dissolution of the Union.

In 1851, a few months after the compromise measures were adopted, we hear the honorable Senator, HENRY WILSON, from Massachusetts, at an abolition festival in the city of Boston, thus speak :

"Sir, allusion has been made, to-night, to the small beginning of the great anti-slavery movement, twenty years ago, when the Liberator was launched upon the tide. These years have been years of devotion and of struggles, unsurpassed in any age or in any cause. But, notwithstanding the treachery of public men, notwithstanding the apostasy for which the year 1850 was distinguished, I venture to say that the cause of liberty is spreading throughout the whole land, and that the day is not far distant when brilliant victories for freedom will be won. We shall arrest the extension of slavery, and rescue

the Government from the grasp of the slave power. We shall blot out slavery in the national capital. We shall then appeal to hearts and consciences of men, and in a few years, notwithstanding the immense interests combined in the cause of oppression, we shall give liberty to the millions in bondage. (Hear, hear.) I trust that many of us will live to see the chain stricken from the limbs of the last bondman in the Republic! But, sir, whenever the day shall come, living or dead, no name connected with the anti-slavery movement will be dearer to the enfranchised millions than the name of your guest, William Lloyd Garrison. (Prolonged applause.)

Thus you perceive that this slavery agitation and excitement was still kept up by the distinguished men of the North, notwithstanding the compromise measures of 1850; and you hear one of the great leaders of the Black Republican party, second only in command to WILLIAM H. SEWARD, eulogizing in the most eloquent and enthusiastic terms, William Lloyd Garrison, the advocate of doctrines and principles that lead to the commission of treason, murders, and insurrection in the South. You hear this Senator, in the city of Boston, the great metropolis of Massachusetts, *once*, not now, renowned for her patriotism, her devotion to the Union and Constitution, announcing to the people of that ancient Commonwealth:

"We shall arrest the extension of slavery and rescue the Government from the grasp of the slave power; we shall blot out slavery in the national capital; we shall surround the slave States with a cordon of free States; we shall then appeal to the hearts and consciences of men; and, in a few years, notwithstanding the immense interest combined in the cause of oppression, we shall give liberty to millions."

And yet we, who lift our voices in defence and vindication of our just and constitutional rights—yea, our homes and firesides—are denounced by those who call themselves the conservative men of the North and the South, as "agitators"—yes, we must fold our arms and wrap ourselves up in the cloak of "conservative dignity," and wait until the incendiary's torch is applied. God save me and my constituents from such conservatism! If the people of the North will attend to their own legitimate business, and let us and ours alone, the troubled waters will soon subside, and peace and tranquility, fraternal feeling and happiness, reign throughout this mighty empire. Sir, if this Union is lost, the responsibility, in time and eternity, will rest with all its crushing weight upon the heads of the northern people.

Sir, I should have remarked, in order of time, that, as far back as 1848, the great leader and representative of the Black Republican party, said, at Rochester:

"Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces; it means that the United States must and will, either sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandize alone, or else the rye and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men."

Sir, does not every man know that WILLIAM H. SEWARD never believed that the United States would ever become an entirely slaveholding nation? Did he not know, that the people of the slaveholding States, had never intimated a desire to introduce slavery into any of the free States of the Union; that they attended to their own affairs, and did not meddle with the internal concerns of other States? Did he not know that slavery would never exist in any country or climate where it was not profitable? What, then, did he mean by the "irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces?" He simply meant that there was to be an unceasing war waged by the people of the North against the South, and that it could never be repressed. He meant it as an appeal to the North to unite her forces for a mighty onset upon the institution of slavery—an enduring and deadly conflict, in which he expected that victory would perch upon the

black and blood-stained banner of the North. And yet, with the voice of the commander ringing in our ears, and the gathering storm in sight, we are told that if we warn the people of the South, of approaching danger, we are "agitators."

Sir, what do we behold in this House? A powerful sectional party, with not a representative from the fifteen slaveholding States upon this floor, with but one vitalizing idea in their platform, "the abolition of slavery in the United States," marching on with triumphal strides to take possession of this Government, and by a foul and perverted use of its machinery to crush out the life-blood of the South; to wrest from her people their constitutional rights, and drench the hearthstones of her citizens with blood. And yet we, who are seeking to defeat them and prevent, if possible, the terrible consequences that threaten us, are charged with being "agitators." Sir, I must confess that I never see or hear the charge made, in a slave State, without having my suspicions aroused that those who make it, sympathize with Black Republicanism, and secretly desire the success of that party, without having the frankness to avow it.

Mr. Chairman, I was raised and educated a Whig, taught the science of politics in the school of Clay and Webster, and ever delighted to march under their standard and fight for the American and national principles that were emblazoned upon their banners. The Whig party was emphatically a national party from its infancy to the day of its dissolution. Patriotism, conservatism, harmony, and union were among the distinguishing characteristics of that great party. It embraced within its patriotic arms the entire Union; it knew no North, no South, no East, no West; it stood firmly and persistently by the Constitution and the Union; it inculcated the principles of strict obedience to the Constitution, the laws, and the treaties of the United States; it deprecated all interference growing out of the relation of master and servant; it abhorred sectionalism, and sought to encourage fraternal intercourse and strengthen fraternal feelings among all the citizens of this Confederacy. Its paramount object was the prosperity and greatness, peace and happiness, of this Republic. I rejoice to say that it left the impress of its principles and policy, to some extent, upon the face of the nation. I remember, with pride and satisfaction, that I was the standard-bearer of that party for four presidential campaigns, in my electoral district, and bore triumphantly the banner of Clay, Scott, Taylor, and Fillmore; and I regret to say that it was the only district in my State that cast its electoral vote for those distinguished men. I clung to the fortunes of that party through all its vicissitudes, until the fatal hour when it was embraced by the leprous arms of Black Republicanism; and then I heard, with mingled emotions of grief and indignation, the knell of its dissolution.

When that party of undying principles ceased to exist, I united my political fortunes with the American party, embraced its principles, stood upon its platform, and battled for its success. After a few brief years, I found its camp surrounded by the enemies of the Constitution and the Union, with the hateful banner of sectionalism and abolitionism thrown to the breeze, with the mottoes inscribed thereon, "Slavery must be abolished: you and I must do it"—"No more slave territory"—"No more slave States admitted into the Union"—"No fugitive slave act"—"No peace, no security to slaveholders"—the northern wing of that party turned traitor to its principles, the Constitution, and the Union, and marched into the ranks of the "irrepressible conflict" party; the southern wing, bold and patriotic, stood to their arms until the American people passed upon their principles the verdict of condemnation. Thus repulsed and cut to pieces, that army, too, has disbanded; and its scattered forces and dismembered fragments are now driven to the necessity, of enlisting under some other political banner.

There is, at the present time, but one great party resisting the aggressions of this destructive, sectional, anti-slavery party. It is a party that Whigs and

Americans, shoulder to shoulder, have resolutely fought for a quarter of a century, upon many political battle-fields; a party towards whom they and I have entertained the most bitter animosities and violent prejudices; a party that they and I have denounced from the most patriotic instincts. A proper regard, however, for truth, compels us to admit that under their administration of the Government, checked and controlled, in no small degree, by the doctrines of the Whig party, we have risen to the proudest eminence of any nation on earth, in all that constitutes true greatness and prosperity. Though their policy, in my judgment, was frequently wrong and reckless, yet they have ever stood firmly by the Constitution and the Union. They have ever contended for a strict construction of the Constitution—the only safety of the Union—and maintained the sovereignty and equality of the States; and they are, to-day, the only party in existence that can (if such a thing be possible) resist successfully the Black Republican party; the only party that can save the South from the horrors of a civil and servile war; that can roll back the torrent of Sewardism and fanaticism that is rapidly hurrying us on towards a most fatal termination of our national grandeur and greatness; that can restore peace and tranquility to the turbulent agitations of the public mind; the only party whose principles are boldly proclaimed and defended in every part of this Union, from Maine to Louisiana, on the Atlantic and the Pacific; whose organization exists everywhere, throughout the length and breadth of this land. It stands by the South on the great issues of the day. To the aid and assistance of the Democratic party, from patriotic necessity, if not from choice, I invite you to come.

In my estimation, the slavery question, with all its bearings, transcends, in magnitude and importance, all other questions. Upon its constitutional adjustment is suspended the Union; hence all others sink into insignificance when compared with it. The approaching political contest will be the most important and fearful one that has occurred since the foundation of this Government. Upon its result (mark my word) hangs the destiny of this Republic. If the Black Republican party shall succeed in that contest, and then attempt to carry out their policy, you may rest assured that the South will resist, to the last extremity. Will not, then, the Whigs and Americans of the entire South, impelled by their patriotic devotion to the Constitution and the Union, lay their prejudices and animosities upon the altar of their country, and cooperate with the Democratic party in placing a national man, one who will administer the Government upon broad and national principles, in the presidential chair?

Sir, I have the right to appeal to the Whigs and Americans of my own district and State, who know me well and have known me long; and to-day, speaking from the capital of this agitated nation, I invoke them, by their attachment to the Constitution and the Union, by the memories of their patriotic sires, by all the hallowed associations that cluster around the battle-fields of the Revolution, by the prayers and tears of the oppressed of other nations, whose eyes and hearts are turned to the example of this Republic, as the only hope of their elevation in the tide of time, to act with the national Democratic party, at least in the coming contest. I do not insist on your becoming members of that party; but I do call upon you in this, the hour of our country's extremity, to cooperate with them, and not to give aid and comfort, by division, to the Black Republican party.

I know that, by the conjoint efforts of some of the leaders of the late American and Republican parties, an effort is being made in my State to organize what they call an "Opposition party." There was a meeting held in the city of St. Louis, the great commercial metropolis of my own State, on the 30th of November last, by the members of the American party and the Black Republicans, at which various speeches were made, by some of the distinguished members of the American party, urging the propriety of organizing an "Opposition party," to meet at the city of Jefferson, and select men to carry the banner of

the "Opposition" in the next gubernatorial contest. And at least one-half of the delegates to that convention were Black Republicans; several of them distinguished men of that party, among whom was the Hon. Francis P. Blair, former member of Congress, and B. Gratz Brown, former editor of the Democrat, and Charles L. Bernay, editor of the Anzeigen, two as rabid Black Republican papers as there are in the West. With these men I and my American friends were asked to assemble around the political council board.

Sir, the great body of the American party will never so far forget the interests of their State and country, that loyalty due to the Constitution and Union, as to act with a party of men who belong to the "irrepressible conflict" sectional party. Sir, I can assure them that they will call in vain, so far as the Americans of my district are concerned, with the exception of a few, who have, for many years, carried about with them the odor of Black Republicanism. Sir, Missouri will stand firmly by the South. Though assailed on three sides by the abolitionized Black Republican party of two States and two Territories, she will proudly maintain her allegiance to the Constitution and the Union. Sir, the people of Missouri are strongly attached to the South and its institutions; and she will stand unflinchingly by, and share with her in all the trials and difficulties that await her, in sunshine or storm, in adversity or prosperity, in weal or woe. Missouri has forever linked her destiny with her southern sisters, and when they fall she falls; when the northern army of the gentleman from Pennsylvania shall undertake to cross her domain, to "whip" the southern people into subjection to their tyranny, they will find it necessary to send on a second army to gather up the bones of the first, before they ever reach the fairer fields of the South.

Sir, my American friends say that they are opposed to the corruption and extravagance of the Democratic party. Admit it: so am I. But is it not infinitely better to submit to it than place this Government in the hands of a party who disregard the provisions of the Constitution, and whose principles and policy lead to the destruction of \$4,000,000,000 worth of property in fifteen of the States of this Union, and, with that, the Union itself; and who, I doubt not, would administer this Government more corruptly and extravagantly than any Administration that ever preceded it? Were there not corruptions and mal-administration in some of the departments of the Government, it would be unlike all other administrations that have preceded it, either in Europe or this country. There ever has been, and ever will be, corruptions in all governments with so much machinery as ours, administered by fallen man. Let us aid the honest men of the party in correcting the abuses into which the Government has fallen. But, sir, allow me to say that, in my estimation, this is not a valid objection to our coöperating with them in the maintenance of great principles, essential to the preservation of the Union and the just and equal participation of all the States in the rights and blessings secured by the Constitution.

Sir, I learn that it is the meditated purpose of the scattered forces of the American party to unite in the formation of a new party, to be called the "Union party." Where, sir, I inquire, are the materials to be found sufficient, now almost upon the eve of a great contest, for the formation of a party, that shall withstand this northern army, of political Goths and Vandals that are now precipitating themselves upon the Constitution and the Union? Will you find them in the North; from what party are they to come? You cannot expect them from the Democratic party. The northern wing of that organization is composed of the firmest and most unyielding men, in my opinion, that have existed since the foundation of this Government. Sir, they are men of sterling and indomitable principles and patriotism—men who have been purified by the fires of persecution through which they have passed. The men who can now stand up in the non-slaveholding States and defend the South, and demand that her constitutional rights shall be sustained, are men who will never leave the

party under whose banners they have fought so long and so nobly; much less will they ever unite with a party of men who expect to obtain recruits from the sectional army who have so long sought to dig their political graves. No, sir, let not demagogues and politicians deceive you. If the Whig party could not be sustained in the non-slaveholding States—a purer and better Union party than will ever exist again in this country—tell me how can you expect to form a party now, in the present unsound political condition of the North, that will guaranty to the South her constitutional rights? It cannot be done.

Sir, we had a specimen of their reliability during the ballot for Speaker. The People's party of Pennsylvania pledged their votes for the honorable gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. SMITH,) the Opposition candidate and old-line Whig. When the honorable gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. MALLORY,) as the organ of the Opposition party, put him in nomination, a Democrat inquired if he could obtain votes sufficient to put him within the reach of the Democratic party? The gentleman from Kentucky, trusting to the deliberate and solemn pledges of his anti-slavery, Union allies, answered very emphatically, "that he could." Then an opportunity to quiet, to some extent, the fearful forebodings of the public mind, and for party men to make an exhibition of patriotism, was presented, such as is seldom witnessed in the lifetime of a nation. The Democratic party, rising above mere selfish ambition and a desire for party triumph and aggrandizement, most nobly and proudly met the crisis. Sir, they rose in the majesty of pure patriotism and loyal devotion to the country, and every man of that party from the fifteen slaveholding States, and all from the North, (except three,) brought their tribute of partisanship and selfishness, and burned it here a consecrated sacrifice, for their country's safety and peace, and thereby, in the estimation of a great people, covered themselves with imperishable honor.

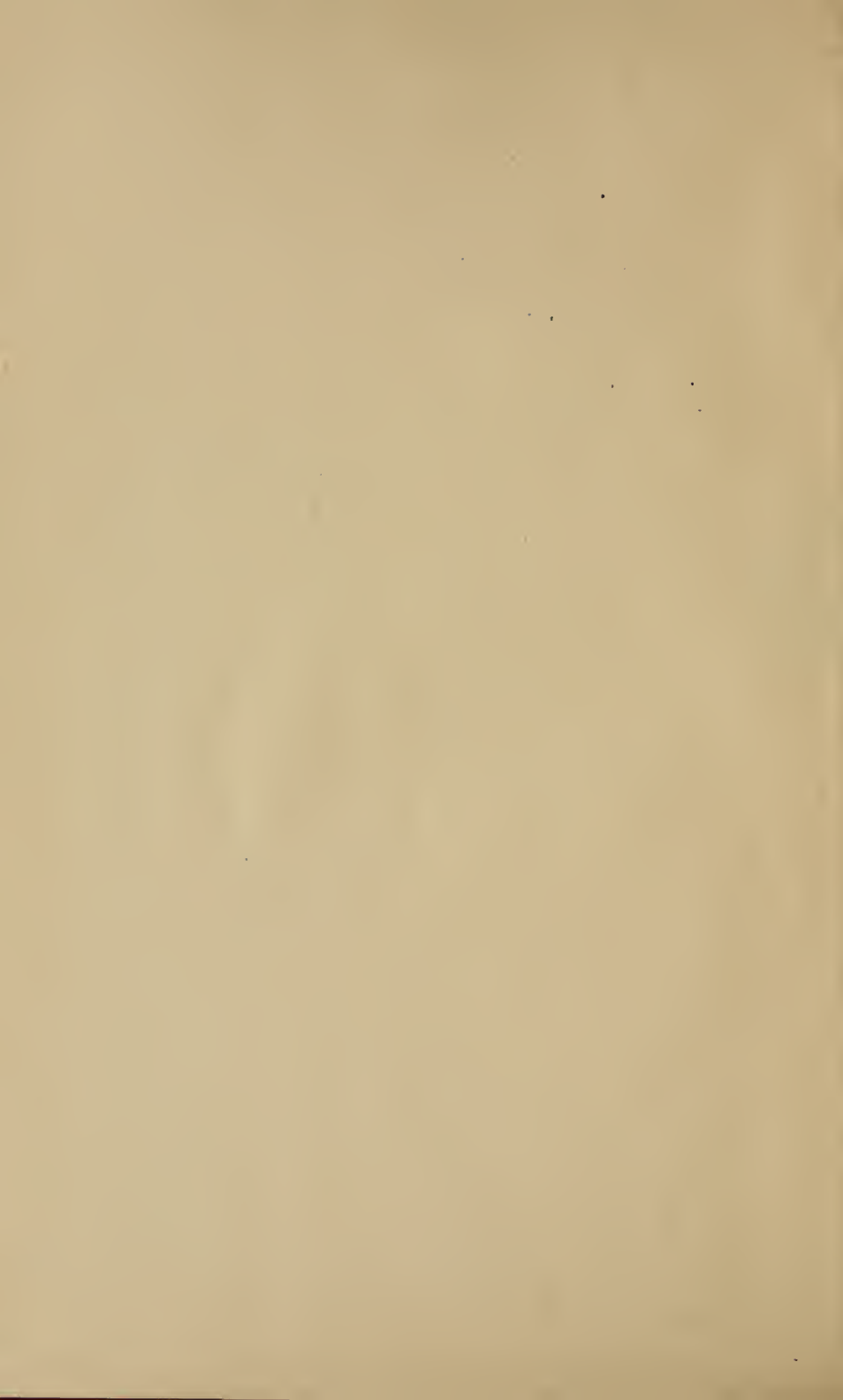
No sooner was it whispered around this Hall that Mr. SMITH, of North Carolina, the only representative upon this floor of that old and honored, but now scattered and dismembered, Whig party, was elected to the Speakership, than the pretended representatives of the "northern conservative Union element," who were to be the nucleus in the non-slaveholding States, around whom this Union party was to gather, rose from their seats, one after another, and changed their votes from the distinguished Whig to a Black Republican, thereby defeating the election of Mr. SMITH. Are these the sectional men into whose hands my American friends are willing to intrust the destiny of the South, the Constitution and Union? Sir, I boldly announce from this Hall to-day, to my constituents, that the only party in all the North, true to the Constitution and the equality of the States—who know no North, no South—is the Democratic party. Let the American party, then, at least in the approaching State and Presidential elections, exhibit their patriotism and anxious desire for the perpetuation of the Union, by coöperating with the national Democratic party. Let all the Union men, everywhere throughout the entire country, band together during this fearful struggle, under the banner of that party, and make one mighty effort to save our country from the grasp of a sectional party. Let the South, at least, present the admiring spectacle, of a united people, in defence of the Constitution and the Union; not united, if you choose, upon the subject of slavery, or any sectional policy, but united in resistance to the aggressive and unconstitutional policy, of the Black Republican party.

Sir, it is well enough for us to remember that more than eighty years ago, this Government was organized by the sages of the Revolution, with a population of less than three million of inhabitants, and thirteen States, sparsely populated. Under the Constitution adopted by them, we have increased to near thirty million inhabitants and thirty-three States; we have become a great and powerful nation; we are still a united people; but there is a rumbling volcano beneath our feet whose pent-up fires, if fanned but a little more, will burst out with a fury that will consume this Union. Sir, my sincere hope is, that such a catas-

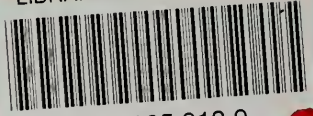
trophe may never happen. My ardent prayer to the sovereign Ruler of the universe is, that the sun of American liberty may never set; that this great confederation of States may march on, step by step, year after year, century after century, to still greater advancements, in all that constitutes the happiness of a people, and the glory of a great nation, and yet present to the admiring gaze of the Old World the sublime spectacle of hundreds of millions of free, intelligent, happy beings.

But, sir, whether or not this shall be our destiny, depends upon the virtue, intelligence, and forbearance of the American people, and the sacred regard that the North shall manifest for the constitutional rights of the South. Can it be, sir, that we are to fall from our elevated position? Is this proud fabric of Government to be torn down? Is this Union, cemented by the blood of our fathers, to be destroyed by the folly and fanaticism of northern demagogues? No; I will not, I cannot believe it. May the Almighty, in the extension of that mercy and protection which has been thus far vouchsafed to us, cause that flag which waved over the army of Washington, and that has ever since continued to wave triumphantly over sea and land, to float, for long ages, over the Capital of this great nation, fanned by the zephyrs of heaven, freighted with love and mercy, with no rent in it, and no star blotted out; and that star after star, (representing other States yet to be formed,) may, in future years, be added to the bright constellation, until all the inhabitants of this continent shall enjoy the civil and religious blessings so necessary to the honor and happiness of man.

Now, sir, in conclusion, I desire to announce, upon this occasion, in order that the declaration may reach the ears of my constituents, that my political ambition is satisfied—yea, more than satisfied; that I have no longer any desire for official station; and that when this Congress terminates, I hope to retire to the peaceful and tranquil walks of private life, and there spend the residue of my days in the bosom of my family, my friends, and the constituents who have so highly honored me and the Union.



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